United Nations

Centre against Apartheid

Notes and Documents

2/90 February 1990

APPEAL FOR ACTION

adopted by
the Regional Seminar on East Asian
Action against Apartheid
(Tokyo, 23-25 January 1990)

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INTRODUCTION

A three-day Regional Seminar on East Asian Action against Apartheid, sponsored by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, was held from 23-25 January 1990 in Tokyo, Japan.

The Seminar's objective was to promote greater publicity on the situation in South Africa and mobilize the region for more vigorous and co-ordinated measures. Coming one month after the General Assembly adopted by consensus a Declaration on South Africa, the Seminar emphasized the necessity to support a negotiated settlement of the conflict in South Africa by maintaining effective and concerted pressure on the South African regime.

The Seminar was attended by parliamentarians from Japan, Australia, Canada and New Zealand; academics, trade union and church leaders; representatives of non-governmental organizations from the region; and representatives of the national liberation movements of South Africa. It was observed by a number of journalists and representatives from business associations.

Among the special guests of the Seminar were the current Attorney-General and former Prime Minister of New Zealand, David Lange; Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and Alex Boraine, Executive Director, Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa. Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of the New Nation of South Africa, who was invited as a special guest, was refused permission to travel by the South African authorities.

Nana Sutresna, Permanent Representative of Indonesia to and current Chairman of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) at the United Nations, was elected Chairman of the Seminar. Yoshiko Ohtaka, Member of Parliament of Japan, and Colin Hollis, Member of Parliament of Australia, served as Vice-Chairmen and Moderators of the two panels.

At the conclusion of its work, the Seminar adopted an Appeal for Action which outlined an effective East Asian Programme for Action and called, inter alia, upon its participants, in particular the Parliamentarians, to present the Appeal to their governments, leaders of political parties, church, industrial and business groups of their respective countries and take follow-up action, as required.

The Centre against Apartheid would welcome information on follow-up action by participants as well as other concerned anti-apartheid organizations or individuals, especially those from the region, preferably before 30 June 1990. Information should be conveyed to Mr. Abdennour Abrous, Chief of Branch, United Nations Centre against Apartheid, Room S-3275, New York, NY 10017.

I. APPEAL FOR ACTION

(adopted at the Regional Seminar on East Asian Action against Apartheid, 23-25 January 1990.)

1. The Regional Seminar on East Asian Action against Apartheid, organized by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, was held in Tokyo, Japan, from 23 to 25 January 1990.

2. The participants in the Seminar included parliamentarians, representatives of governments and of the national liberation movements of South Africa, intergovernmental, non-governmental and religious organizations, as well as a number of academic, business and trade union representatives and special guests.

3. The Seminar convened at a time when the struggle for the eradication of apartheid is reaching a crucial stage characterized by a conjuncture of circumstances, both within and outside South Africa, which afford a real opportunity to end apartheid peacefully through negotiations.

4. The Seminar is of the view that apartheid, more than ever, presents an urgent and pressing challenge to humanity. It reaffirms the special responsibility of the international community in general and of the East Asian Region in particular, to contribute to the speedy and peaceful elimination of apartheid and thus support the legitimate aspirations of the people of South Africa for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

5. In this connection, the Seminar expresses its full support for the historic United Nations Declaration on South Africa which was adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989 by the 16th Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in Southern Africa.

6. It is convinced that this Declaration provides an important framework within which a negotiated settlement of the conflict in South Africa can take place, leading to the prompt eradication of apartheid and the creation by the South African people of a united, non-racial and democratic country.

7. In this regard, the Seminar urges all Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, the media, church and other religious organizations, business and trade union organizations, members of legal professions, women and student groups, human rights organizations, prominent intellectuals, artists and other cultural personalities throughout the world and in the East Asian Region in particular, to take individual and collective measures in support of the fundamental principles and guidelines contained in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa.

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8. The Seminar calls on Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as men and women of conscience, to use their individual and collective leverage on Pretoria to ensure that the South African authorities undertake the necessary steps outlined in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa, namely:

(a) to release all political prisoners and detainees and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;

(b) to lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons;

(c) to remove all troops from the townships;

(d) to end the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; and

(e) cease all political trials and executions.

These measures would help create the necessary climate in which free political discussions can take place - an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of re-building their country.

9. As part of an effective East Asian programme designed to achieve the foregoing objectives, the Seminar appeals to Governments of the East Asian Region:

(a) to join in and maintain all existing economic and other forms of pressure on the Pretoria authorities in order to promote genuine negotiations among all parties concerned;

(b) to ensure the strict observance of the mandatory arms embargo on South Africa and to restrict or ban any form of collaboration in the military and nuclear fields;

(c) to impose embargoes on the supply of all products, in particular computer and communications equipment, technologies, skills and services, including military intelligence, that can be used for the military and nuclear industry of South Africa;

(d) to impose embargoes on the supply of oil and petroleum products and oil technology and prohibit the import of coal, gold, other minerals and agricultural products from South Africa;

(e) to induce transnational corporations, banks and financial institutions to withdraw effectively from South Africa by ceasing equity investment and cutting off non-equity links, particularly those involving transfer of high technology and know-how, and require banks to cease the provision of new credits and loans;

(f) to provide greater assistance to the struggling people of South Africa and their national liberation movements;

(g) to render all possible assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States that have suffered so long, from destruction and destabilization as a result of their engagement against apartheid, as well as to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC);

(h) to contribute more generously to United Nations trust funds for humanitarian, legal and educational assistance to South Africa and Namibia.

10. The Seminar calls upon its participants, in particular the Parliamentarians, to initiate and follow up on action recommended in this Appeal and present the Appeal to their Governments, the leaders of political parties, church officials as well as to the leadership of commercial, industrial and other business enterprises and associations of their respective countries.

11. It also urges participants from the region to consider establishing regular contacts among themselves with a view to taking concerted action in promoting the mobilization of public opinion and appropriate governmental action aimed at applying further pressure on the South African regime to ensure a speedy end to apartheid.

12. The Seminar appeals to industrialists, traders and especially business leaders to cease all economic collaboration with South Africa forthwith and to implement the Programme of Action contained in the Declaration on South Africa.

13. The Seminar further appeals to all anti-apartheid movements, religious organizations, trade unions, youth, student and women's organizations as well as academic, cultural and other appropriate institutions in the East Asian Region to disseminate public information and promote public action in support of the United Nations activities against apartheid, with special regard to a negotiated settlement of the conflict in South Africa. In particular, the Seminar calls on all concerned to co-operate with the United Nations Centre against Apartheid in producing and disseminating joint publications and audio-visual material on international Action against Apartheid in the main languages of the East Asian Region.

14. The Seminar calls on the United Nations Centre against Apartheid and other relevant United Nations offices and agencies to intensify the dissemination of information in the region, assist non-governmental organizations in their anti-apartheid activities and facilitate appropriate concerted action.

15. The Seminar also calls on all Governments of the region, non-governmental organizations, business leaders and organizations, lawyers' associations, intellectuals, artists, writers and other cultural personalities in East Asia to take appropriate action aimed at applying pressure on South Africa towards a speedy end of apartheid and to keep the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid abreast of activities undertaken individually and collectively in support of the present appeal for action.

A unique opportunity is afforded all concerned to contribute positively to the peaceful settlement of the conflict in South Africa, thus closing the chapter on one of the worst human tragedies of this century. This opportunity must not be missed.

II. EXCERPTS OF STATEMENTS

a. H.E. Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana, Head of the Special Committee against Apartheid's delegation to the Seminar)

(At the opening session)

In the presently emerging international climate of increasing mutual trust and dialogue, which in southern Africa was manifested by the successful transition of Namibia to independence, there is once again talk emanating from South Africa about imminent reforms.

The new regime in South Africa has given some indications that it is seeking some political reforms. The release of Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners, allowing peaceful marches and meeting prominent members of the clergy and the pending release of Nelson Mandela are welcome developments. But they are very small steps in the right direction. The substance of apartheid remains untouched.

In the absence of concrete and meaningful steps emerging from the apartheid regime, it is essential that international pressure on the apartheid regime be kept up.

The limited, voluntary and unco-ordinated sanctions taken by Governments and intergovernmental organizations against South Africa will have to be further strengthened to make them more effective. Sanctions, however limited in scope, have had an unquestionable impact on South Africa. This much has been admitted even by Mr. F.W. de Klerk. South Africa's economy has been seriously effected. For the first time in its post-World War II history, South Africa is witnessing an outflow of capital.

In recent years, the countries of East Asia have emerged as economic miracles. Japan, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, the Taiwan Province of China, Australia and New Zealand have acquired economic power whereby they can influence world events, including events in South Africa.

Because of their economic strength, East Asian countries can indeed be a very potent and positive force for bringing about peaceful change in South Africa. South Africa needs East Asian trade contacts more than East Asia needs the South African market. The efforts of the Japanese Government to persuade the Japanese private sector to reduce trade with South Africa, which is now second in value after that of the Federal Republic of Germany, have been noticed by the Special Committee against Apartheid. We sincerely hope that the business community of Japan shows the same sensitivity and understanding of long term interests, let alone moral imperatives, as that shown by the political parties and institutions of Japan in this regard.

As a son of Africa, I can easily share admiration for the recent interest shown by East Asian countries in expanding their developmental commitment towards Africa. But much more needs to be done to relieve the countries of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) of their dependence on South Africa. A simultaneous effort to pressure the apartheid regime for meaningful negotiations and to promote the economic viability

of the front-line States can contribute critically to peace and development in the entire sub-region.

In the Declaration adopted by consensus at the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations last month, the international community outlined the principles and guidelines for a negotiated settlement of the conflict and urged South Africa to create conditions conducive to prompt and genuine negotiation. Similar guidelines were adopted earlier by the OAU, the Commonwealth Summit and the Non-aligned Summit Conference.

I fervently hope that the members of the East Asian region, who have all joined in support of the United Nations Declaration on South Africa, will bring the full weight of their individual and collective diplomatic, economic, trade, cultural and other leverage on Pretoria to facilitate and promote the implementation of the main provisions of the Declaration on South Africa and thus advance the cause of peace and freedom and justice in southern Africa.

(At the closing session)

We are agreed that there is a dire need for further dissemination of information about apartheid in the region as a whole and that governments in the area should do more to assist the world-wide campaign against this abhorrent system, but the growing commitment of the East Asia Region to peacefully bring apartheid to an end, combined with the impressive political, economic and other leverage that the countries of the East Asian Region can individually and collectively muster and bring to bear on the Pretoria regime, are portents of great hope.

In order to achieve our common objective and usher in a new era of peace, freedom and prosperity in South Africa, we must not lower our guard; we must not relent in our individual and collective efforts to apply continued pressure and sanctions that the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements expect of us.

We have now reached a critical stage in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. Momentous change is in the offing. Our collective duty is to make it happen based on the fundamental principles and guidelines contained in the historic Declaration adopted by the Special Session of the General Assembly last December.

The Appeal for Action adopted by acclamation by the Seminar participants contains proposals for action, which if implemented by governments, by the Association of East Asian Nations (ASEAN), parliamentarians, religious organizations, non-governmental organizations, the media, business leaders and trade unions and others can bring us closer than ever to our goal.

In the months ahead we shall look forward to follow-up action action and tangible results.

The light at the end of the tunnel in South Africa is beginning to show. Let us therefore forge ahead with determination, convinced that one more country in the world will shed an evil system inherited from the past and join the community of nations as a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

b. Mr. Sotirios Mousouris (Representative of the Secretary-General)

A month ago the international community at a Special Session of the General Assembly in one voice and in no uncertain terms called for a peaceful and prompt end to apartheid, offered guidelines for a negotiated settlement and defined the steps that the Government of South Africa should implement and the actions that the Member States should undertake to achieve this objective. The Secretary-General has been requested to prepare a report for the General Assembly by 1 July on the progress made in the implementation of the Declaration. The General Assembly also decided by consensus to resume its session to consider the report of the Secretary-General and to consider such action as may be required.

The significance of the Declaration is manifold. It spells out for the first time the principles on which, in the view of the international community, a new constitutional order of South Africa should be based, which are inspired by the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also sets out guidelines to the process of negotiations and provides a yardstick against which actions of the parties concerned, including the Government of South Africa, as well as of the Member States of the United Nations would be assessed.

In this connection, all Member States decided to use concerted and effective measures aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid. They also decided not to relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes in South Africa, in furtherance of the objectives of the Declaration.

Apartheid cannot be reformed; it has to be eradicated, and the pressure, through concerted and effective measures, should be maintained until this anachronistic and inhuman system is no more than the memory of a nightmare.

The purpose of this Seminar is to contribute to this noble objective. The East Asian region can certainly play an important part in putting into effect the newly emerged international consensus on South Africa. As some positive developments which have been observed in recent months in South Africa and the region give cause for cautious optimism, it is incumbent upon all governments, non-governmental organizations, enterprises and individuals to harness their capabilities with courage and imagination for the final stretch.

c. Mr. Naoki Tanaka (Japan, Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs)

I attended the sixteenth Special Session on Apartheid at the United Nations General Assembly and made a statement expressing the clear cut view of the Japanese Government for ending apartheid. I reconfirm once again that the international community must exert its best efforts towards an early ending to the abhorrent system of apartheid.

As is seen in the East European countries, the world is in the midst of the big swell in wishing for the true, authentic democracy in South Africa. Although the De Klerk regime seemed to have the promise and the commitment for change, however, it is not enough. The South African regime should respond to the international community and abolish the state of emergency, release political leaders, including Mr. Mandela, abolish the banning of anti-apartheid organizations, and then through negotiations with the majority leaders of South Africa, to work out effective measures for housing, education and the participation of all South Africans in politics.

In Japan, there is much more evolution of the atmosphere to work for stronger solidarity with the people of South Africa. Last year the League of Parliamentarians against Apartheid was established. We would like to continue to work with the oppressed people of South Africa for substantial change and to emphasize our assistance to the black majority in South Africa, to alleviate the economic burdens of the southern African nations around South Africa, and to strengthen the political dialogue with Southern African nations.

I would like to express my congratulatory remarks that this Seminar is convened for the first time in Tokyo by the effort of those who are from the United Nations. I hope the Seminar will bear big fruit.

d. H.E. Mr. Nana S. Sutresna (Indonesia, Chairman of the Seminar)

It is particularly fitting that Tokyo was selected as the venue for this Seminar as it will greatly facilitate the objective of reaching out to the East Asian region in the further mobilization of concerted international action against apartheid.

The positive contributions of the Asian countries to the struggle against apartheid are a matter of record, especially as they pertain to the co-ordinated and concerted international campaign at the United Nations.

On their part, ASEAN members most recently reaffirmed their condemnation of apartheid in their Joint Communique of the 22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting held in Brunei Darussalam last July.

The significant success in the international campaign against apartheid was achieved at the 16th Special Session of the General Assembly on Apartheid and Its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa held just last month. Indeed, the Declaration adopted at that session is as principled as it is realistic in setting out the necessary terms and conditions for achieving the elimination of apartheid and establishing a peaceful, just and prosperous South Africa.

My Government has long been convinced that not only multilateral forums and governments, but also non-governmental organizations, industrial or commercial entities or even individuals, could play a useful role and contribute to the peaceful settlement of the conflict in Southern Africa. We believe that among the decisions taken by the international community those of specific concern to this Seminar should be the call for the stepping-up of all-round support for the South African liberation movements; the intensification of the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions

against South Africa; and, ensuring that existing measures for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa are not relaxed.

Although, we too acknowledge recent moves by the Pretoria regime as positive steps, they are certainly not adequate. There has been no movement by the Pretoria regime in the direction of dismantling the essential pillars of the apartheid system.

We are all well aware of the difficulties and frustrations involved in the full implementation of comprehensive sanctions. But there can be no turning back, especially at this critical juncture in the anti-apartheid campaign.

Before concluding I should like to appeal to the representatives of prestigious political, industrial, commercial and humanitarian organizations and groups gathered here at this Seminar to continue to do everything in their power to increase support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people and to promote a negotiated settlement of the conflict in South Africa as called for in the United Nations Declaration adopted last month by consensus.

e. Mr. David Lange
(New Zealand, Attorney-General)

New Zealand has given effect to all the measures against South Africa which form the subject of United Nations Security Council resolutions, voluntary as well as mandatory, and all measures recommended by the Commonwealth. New Zealand takes the view that economic sanctions are an effective means of changing the views of the white minority in South Africa. The Pretoria regime will not abandon apartheid of its own free will. Any change for the better in South Africa has been encouraged by the international campaign against apartheid.

The criticial problems facing the South African economy cannot be resolved while sanctions are in place and the country is economically isolated.

South Africa needs overseas investment. This investment will not easily come until apartheid is eradicated. Sanctions work. In the end sanctions against the South African economy are in the best interests of the world business community.

South Africa's fundamental insecurity feeds through into instability in the neighbouring economies of Southern Africa. The only hope for the peaceful economic development of Southern Africa lies in an orderly transition to a democratic form of government in South Africa.

The new president of South Africa has promised change. However, the main pillars of apartheid, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, and the Land Act, remain in place.

The vague and undetailed reforms which de Klerk has proposed so far do not include any form of democracy based on individual rights. Rather they would protect "group rights" and "minority rights" and guarantee the

continuance of some segregated facilities.

If the Government is to take what is almost certainly the last chance to save South Africa from violent revolution then it must end the emergency and lift the bans. It must start to dismantle the pillars of apartheid and begin genuine negotiations with representatives of the majority. No time is more important for the international community to keep pressure on the South African government.

Sanctions will be needed until there is a free, democratic South Africa. The Declaration on Apartheid endorsed at the Sixteenth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Apartheid in December, outlines the kind of society the international community wishes to see in South Africa and suggests what the process might be in getting there. International solidarity on the Declaration sends a strong message to Pretoria.

I am certain that the international community has it in its power to bring about peaceful change in South Africa. Every country, big or small, can bring some influence to bear. Economic sanctions have created a climate for substantial reform. If countries act in concert, we shall have yet more influence.

f. Dr. Alexander Boraine (South Africa, Executive Director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa)

It is my contention that there is a new situation brought about by the release of some very significant political prisoners, the granting of space for marches and mass meetings, lifting of some restrictions and the freedom to travel. However, a Government which remains unrepresentative is illegitimate.

If de Klerk has changed what brought it about? Certainly the realization that apartheid is a giant fraud and a tragic failure morally, socially, politically and economically. But that is only half the answer. Growing pressure from the oppressed and their allies inside South Africa and the convergence of external pressure from the liberation movements and the international community have left the creators of the apartheid monster no alternative but to change.

Mr. de Klerk is prepared to dispense with much of the apartheid apparatus but he is not committed to a democratic future, a hallmark of which is one person, one vote. He still insists on Group rights, which is a sophisticated way to retain white minority rule.

The implications are clear. We must demand, with renewed emphasis our wish for:

* the release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela;

* the lifting of the State of Emergency;

* the unbanning of all political organizations;

* the return of all exiles; and

* the commitment to genuine negotiations through the democratic process towards the goal of a truly non-racial democratic South Africa.

To achieve this, internal and external pressures must be maintained. This is not the time to ease up on the pressure which has helped to beat the deadlock. Promises made by the South African Government must be matched by performance.

It is therefore particularly appropriate that the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid should have organized this Seminar in Tokyo. Japan is a nation with an enormous reservoir of expertise, efficiency, skills, and economic power and a nation with very close trading links with South Africa.

That South Africans have a particular responsibility in destroying apartheid is not in dispute. The forces for democracy are growing stronger every day. But we cannot win on our own. We need the unambiguous support of the international community. The challenge is clear, particularly for this region. Together we can hasten the emergence of the new South Africa which waits in anguish to be born.

g. Mr. Akira Yamaqishi (Japan, President of the Japanese Trade Union Confederation)

Apartheid, as the systemization of racial discrimination, is a crime against humanity as well as a threat to world peace.

The world trade union movement has consistently opposed apartheid, which is against trade union principles of human rights, trade union rights, freedom and civil rights.

The International Congress of Free Trade Unions to which RENGO, the Japanese Trade Union Confederation with its eight million members, is affiliated has made the fight against apartheid one of its most important activities not only within the trade union circle but also at the United Nations and other international forums.

RENGO has also developed various activities at home as well as abroad against apartheid. Recently, we have very serious concern in particular about the increasing criticism raised within the international organizations as well as in world public opinion and within the United Nations against the close economic relations between Japan and South Africa that have been maintained in spite of the repeated statements by the Government of Japan against apartheid.

We have demanded the Japanese Government take effective steps to implement economic sanctions against South Africa in compliance with United Nations resolutions, and Declarations and resolutions of the International Labour Organisation. We have also urged Japanese employers not to pursue exclusively its individual profit, but to behave with full respect to human rights, social justice and equality, and to take part in the economic

sanctions against South Africa.

RENGO has also made efforts to call on Japanese public opinion against apartheid, and to organize spiritual as well as material supports to the trade union organizations in South Africa.

As a result of these efforts the trade between Japan and South Africa has been decreasing for the past one or two years, but it is not sufficient. It calls for our further efforts.

In the face of increasing international criticism and sanctions, South Africa has released some political prisoners and allowed some degree of freedom of expression, but apartheid is not something which can be revised, it should be totally abolished. We are all determined to continue the maximum pressure against South Africa at the national as well as international level in co-operation with trade union friends throughout the world until apartheid has been totally eliminated in South Africa.

h. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston (United Kingdom, President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement)

It is my very great privilege to be the convenor of the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee.

Unquestionably, Nelson Mandela will be freed very soon. But the release of Mandela after 27 years in prison must not be a symbolic act enabling the international community to sit back and celebrate something which is of course infinitely worth celebrating, but which by itself can lull the international community into inactivity.

Think of the span of years since Great Britain, the imperial and colonial power, created South Africa by the act of union, 80 years ago. Think of that moment two years later when the Native Land Act was passed depriving the majority population of South Africa of all rights over 87% of the land area of that country, including all the great cities, the ports, the harbours, the agricultural land, depriving them, not only of their right to call that land their own, but depriving them of human dignity within their own land. The basic, fundamental act upon which all apartheid legislation has subsequently been passed and which is still there on the statute book. So, the release of Nelson Mandela must not be his release into an imprisoned society.

We launched the appeal for this International Committee only just over a week ago, and the response has been quite overwhelming. The object of this Committee is action. It is to make certain that the International Committee puts those pressures on the regime in South Africa unremittingly from the very moment of Nelson Mandela's release. In other words, to fulfill what has already been agreed at the Sixteenth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on Apartheid, by the Organization of African Unity, by the African National Congress of South Africa, and which has the full support of the Reception Committee inside South Africa pending his release.

And so it is very appropriate to make this plea to the international community here in Southeast Asia, here in Tokyo, Japan. I would plead that one result of our seminar here may be a practical resolution to support in every possible way - the creation of this International Committee - so that when Nelson Mandela is released, and when those 80 long years of struggle for liberation in South Africa have come to an end we shall indeed be justified in celebrating because we shall know that that wall of apartheid has finally crumbled.

III. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Members of the Bureau

Chairman: H. E. Mr. Nana Sutresna (Indonesia)

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Colin Hollis (Australia)

Ms. Yoshiko Ohtaka (Japan)

Rapporteur: Mr. Tewfik Abada (Algeria)

2. Moderators of Panels

Panel I. Mr. Colin Hollis (Australia)

Panel II. Ms. Yoshiko Ohtaka (Japan)

3. Secretary of the Seminar

Mr. Abdennour Abrous, Chief of Branch for Publicity, Assistance and Promotion of International Action, Centre against Apartheid

4. United Nations Bodies and Specialized Agencies

Representative of the Secretary-General

Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General, Director Centre against Apartheid

Special Committee against Apartheid

H. E. Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana) Head of Delegation

Mr. Tewfik Abada (Algeria)

Mr. Hertomo Reksodiputro (Indonesia)

United Nations University

Mr. Heitor Gurgulino de Souza, Rector

Dr. Roland Fuchs, Vice-Rector

Dr. Takeo Uchida, Senior Programme Officer

5. National Liberation Movements

African National Congress of South Africa

Mr. Yusuf Saloojee

Mr. Jerry Matsila

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Mr. Joe R. Mkwanazi

6. Intergovernmental organizations

H. E. Mr. Nana Sutresna, Current Chairman of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Indonesia)

7. Special Guests

The Honourable David Lange, Attorney-General (New Zealand)

Dr. Alexander Boraine, Executive Director, Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (South Africa)

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President, British Anti-Apartheid Movement (United Kingdom)

8. Other Invitees

Parliamentarians

Mr. Colin Hollis, Parliamentarians against Apartheid (Australia)

Mr. Hiroshi Isayama, Japanese Communist Party (Japan)

Ms. Manae Kubota, Japan Socialist Party (Japan)

Mr. Walter McLean, House of Commons (Canada)

Ms. Yoshiko Ohtaka, Liberal-Democratic Party (Japan)

Academics

Prof. Koichiro Horie, Yachiyo International University (Japan)

Prof. Yoshiaki Iizaka, Gakushuin University (Japan)

Prof. Makoto Katsumata, Meiji Gakuin University (Japan)

Mrs. Yoko Kitazawa, Critic (Japan)

Prof. Yasuhiko Saito, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Japan)

Prof. Yoshikazu Sakamoto, Meiji Gakuin University (Japan)

Ms. Ruiko Yoshida, Freelance writer (Japan)

Labour Organizations

Mr. Yukuo Ajima, Director, International Affairs Dept., Japanese Federation of Electrical Machine Workers' Unions (Japan)

Mr. Masayuki Kojima, General Secretary, All Japan Telecommunication Workers' Union (Japan)

Mr. Yasuo Maruyama, member of ILO Governing Body, All Japan Prefectural and Municipal Workers' Union (Japan)

Ms. Rosslyn Noonan, National Secretary, New Zealand Educational Institute (New Zealand)

Mr. Akira Yamagishi, President, Japanese Trade Union Confederation (Japan)

Religious Organizations

Mr. Hiroyuki Ohshima, Under-Secretary-General, World Conference on Religion and Peace, (Japan)

Non-Governmental Organizations

Mr. Toshio Akiniwa, Director-General, Japan, Asia, Africa and Latin America Solidarity Committee (Japan)

Mr. Chow Wing Hang, Asian Student Association (Hong Kong)

Ms. Yoko Hayashi, Japan Anti-Apartheid Lawyers' Committee (Japan)

Mr. Makoto Iwai, Japanese Section, Amnesty International (Japan)

Reverend Kim Young Ju, Executive Director, Human Rights Committee, National Council of Churches in Korea (Korea)

Mr. Horst Kleinschmidt, Director, International Defence and Aid Fund (United Kingdom)

Mr. Akira Kusuhara, Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee (Japan)

Mr. John Minto, HART: The New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Movement (New Zealand)

Mr. Abdul Minty, Director, World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa (Norway)

Mr. Makoto Saito, Japan Federation of Bar Associations (Japan)

Ms. Sheila Suttner, Campaign against Racial Exploitation (CARE) (Australia)

9. Observers

Economic Organizations

Mr. Kaneo Kawaguchi, General Manager, International Affairs Department, Japan Foreign Trade Council Inc. (Japan)

Mr. Toshio Suzuki, Director, International Division, Japan Federation of Employers' Associations (Japan)

Mr. Hajime Ohta, Director, International Economic Affairs Department, Federation of Economic Organizations (Japan)

Media

Mr. Tamio Akiyama, Editorial Writer, Kyodo News Service (Japan)

Mr. Toshihiro Horiuchi, News Commentator, NHK (Japan)

Mr. Sotaro Ishikawa, Editorial Writer, Sankei Shimbun (Japan)

Mr. Tetsuo Kawamura, Editorial Writer, Asahi Shimbun (Japan)

Mr. Tetsuo Kitamura, Editorial Writer, Tokyo Shimbun (Japan)

Mr. Hirao Tanikawa, Editorial Writer, Yomiuri Shimbun (Japan)

Mr. Yoshio Terashima, Editorial Writer, Mainichi Shimbun (Japan)

10. Secretariat of the United Nations

Centre against Apartheid

Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General

Mr. Abdennour Abrous, Chief of Publicity, Assistance and Promotion of International Action Branch

Mr. Michael Moller, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary-General

Mr. Vladimir Zhagora, Political Affairs Officer

Ms. Margie Kam, Political Affairs Officer

Ms. Rie Suzuki, Associate Expert
(Department of Technical Co-operation for Development)

Ms. Edna Livingston, Secretary

Ms. Jean Salvador, Secretary

United Nations Information Centre

Mr. Kyo-ichi Nakamura, Officer-in-Charge

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Notes and Documents

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